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PAGE 01  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI

INFO ALL POLADS COLLECTIVE

RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110269

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINR, RW, PINS, MARR, PHUM, PGOV, PREL

SUBJECT: INR ASSESSMENT - RWANDA: MEANING OF THE  
MASSACRES

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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PAGE 02

STATE 110269 050126Z

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2. INR'S APRIL 27, 1995 ASSESSMENT ENTITLED "RWANDA: MEANING OF THE MASSACRES" IS PROVIDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND COMMENT, AS APPROPRIATE.

(BEGIN TEXT)

3. THE BLOODY EFFORT TO CLOSE THE KIBEHO DISPLACED PERSONS CAMP REFLECTS THE WILLINGNESS OF THE TUTSI-DOMINATED REGIME IN KIGALI AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC ARMY (RPA) TO DISREGARD INTERNATIONAL OPINION IN DEFENSE OF WHAT THEY SEE AS THEIR SECURITY INTERESTS.

4. HUNDREDS, PERHAPS THOUSANDS, OF DISPLACED HUTUS WERE KILLED BY GUNFIRE, MACHETES, AND STAMPEDES ON APRIL 22 WHEN THEY TRIED TO BREAK THROUGH A TIGHT CORDON MAINTAINED BY RPA SOLDIERS ACTING TO DISBAND THE HUGE KIBEHO CAMP. ONE RPA SOLDIER ALSO DIED IN THE MELEE.

OTHER CAMPS WERE DISBANDED MORE PEACEFULLY, AND BY APRIL 26 MORE THAN HALF OF THE 200,000 DISPLACED PERSONS IN SOUTHWEST RWANDA REPORTEDLY HAD BEEN MOVED BACK TO THEIR HOME COMMUNES, WHERE MANY WERE BEING ACCUSED BY TUTSIS OF INVOLVEMENT IN LAST YEAR'S GENOCIDE. CONDEMNING THE VIOLENCE, ON THE 26TH THE EU COMMISSION, AFTER AID SUSPENSIONS BY THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIAN GOVERNMENTS, RECOMMENDED THAT ALL AID CHANNELED THROUGH THE KIGALI GOVERNMENT BE SUSPENDED.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03            STATE    110269   050126Z

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5. THE KIGALI REGIME VIEWED KIBEHO AND OTHER SUCH CAMPS IN SOUTHWEST RWANDA AS A DIRECT THREAT TO ITS SOVEREIGNTY AND SECURITY. ESTABLISHED IN 1994 WHEN THE FRENCH MOVED INTO THE AREA AT THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR, BY YEAREND THE CAMPS HOUSED SOME 340,000 DISPLACED PERSONS, INCLUDING THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS AND MILITIAMEN INVOLVED IN THE GENOCIDE. MANAGED BY FOREIGN NGOS AND OFF LIMITS TO THE RPA, THE CAMPS WERE SEEN AS OPPOSITION STRONG POINTS ON RWANDAN SOIL. A JOINT UNAMIR-RPA EFFORT TO RESETTLE THE

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DISPLACED PERSONS MET WITH SOME SUCCESS EARLY THIS YEAR BUT THEN STALLED, OWING TO THE FEAR OF OVER 200,000 OF THOSE REMAINING TO RETURN HOME. FRUSTRATED BY THE FAILURE OF COOPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) MADE GOOD ON LONGSTANDING THREATS AND MOVED UNILATERALLY.

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GROWING UNILATERALISM  
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6. THE LEADERSHIP IN KIGALI WAS WELL AWARE THAT A MOVE INTO KIBEHO - THE LARGEST CAMP, WHICH CONTAINED LARGE NUMBERS OF HUTU EXTREMISTS, SOME ARMED, AMONG ITS 100,000 RESIDENTS - RAN GREAT RISKS OF TRIGGERING VIOLENCE AND A SHARP INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY. BUT RWANDAN LEADERS HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY DISREGARDING INTERNATIONAL NORMS FOR SOME MONTHS: JAILS ARE EVER MORE OVERCROWDED WITH MORE THAN 30,000 HUTUS ACCUSED OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE GENOCIDE; FOREIGNERS REPORT TUTSI GANGS NOW REGULARLY TERRORIZE HUTU CIVILIANS; THE GOVERNMENT FOR A MONTH HAS HALTED RELIEF SUPPLIES TO HUTU REFUGEES IN ZAIRE; RPA SOLDIERS

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04            STATE    110269    050126Z  
APPARENTLY RAIDED A REFUGEE CAMP INSIDE ZAIRE ON APRIL 11, KILLING 31; AND PRESS CRITICISM OF FOREIGNERS HAS SURGED, ALONG WITH "SPONTANEOUS" PROTESTS AGAINST UNAMIR.

7. DESPITE DONOR PLEDGES IN JANUARY OF \$577 MILLION IN AID, MANY IN THE RPF CRITICIZE WHAT THEY SEE AS FOREIGN

HYPOCRISY FOR LINKING DEVELOPMENT AID TO REFUGEE RETURN AND HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DID NOTHING TO HALT LAST YEAR'S GENOCIDE AND WHEN EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO BRING HUTU CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE ARE BOGGED DOWN. THEY RESENT THE FACT THAT THE BULK OF FOREIGN AID TO RWANDA GOES TO HUTU REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS SEEN BY TUTSIS AS CRIMINALS. AN INABILITY OR UNWILLINGNESS EITHER TO SANCTION KIGALI EFFECTIVELY OR TO GIVE IT STRONG TANGIBLE SUPPORT LIMITS FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

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TUTSI POWER

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8. KIGALI'S GROWING ASSERTIVENESS ALSO REFLECTS THE INFLUENCE OF TUTSI HARDLINERS IN KIGALI. KEY SUPPORT FOR STRONGMAN VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME AND THE REGIME COMES FROM RPA RANK AND FILE INCENSED BY THE GENOCIDE AND BELIEVING THEY ARE ENTITLED TO THE FRUITS OF VICTORY, AS WELL AS FROM THE MORE THAN 500,000 TUTSI FORMER EXILES WHO STREAMED INTO RWANDA AND OCCUPIED PROPERTIES OF HUTU REFUGEES AFTER THE RPF VICTORY. ALTHOUGH KAGAME WILL TRY TO BALANCE THE DEMANDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND MODERATE HUTUS IN HIS GOVERNMENT, THE MOST IMMEDIATE  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 05            STATE    110269    050126Z  
THREAT TO HIS POWER COMES FROM EXTREMIST TUTSIS CONCERNED THAT THE REGIME PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS - AND SECURITY.

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BOTTOM LINE  
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9. HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE, SOME HUTU MODERATES MAY SOON DESERT THE GOVERNMENT, THE BULK OF THE ALMOST 2 MILLION HUTU REFUGEES WILL STAY OUTSIDE RWANDA FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, AND THE REGIME - REFERRING CONSTANTLY TO LAST YEAR'S GENOCIDE - WILL TRY TO INCREASE FOREIGN AID WHILE REDUCING FOREIGN INFLUENCE. THE INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO THE MASSACRE MAY ENCOURAGE THE GOVERNMENT TO TEMPER ITS RECENT, HARSH RHETORIC AND ADOPT A MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON ISSUES NOT DEEMED VITAL TO ITS SECURITY - BUT MOST OF THE IMPORTANT ONES ARE.

(END TEXT)  
CHRISTOPHER

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